India

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NOTES AND NEWS.

We discuss elsewhere the interesting and important proceedings at the preliminary Conference of the Indian Famine Union, which was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel last Friday. The primary object of the Union, as our readers are aware, is to investigate the causes of Indian famines and to promote possible means of prevention. But, as will be seen from the speeches, the Union is intended to discharge collateral functions as well. Lord Hobhouse, for example, referred to the importance of giving more permanent form to the charitable machinery which Indian famines call forth in this country, and Sir John Jardine dwelt on the importance of keeping the British public alert upon Indian problems. By the courtesy of the Committee we are enabled to print a lengthy report of the preliminary proceedings. For purposes of record a full note of the speeches was taken, and in view of their importance and the interest expressed concerning them an abstract has, by permission of the Committee, been distributed to the Press. A further meeting of the Provisional Committee will, we understand, be held this (Friday) afternoon.

In connexion with the East India Association, Mr. S. S. Thorburn (late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab) will read a paper at Westminster Town Hall on Monday, June 24, entitled "Agricola Redivivus." Mr. Courtney will preside, and the meeting will begin at 3.30 p.m.

The purport and meaning of the Bombay Revenue Bill do not appear on the surface. It is difficult to see its urgency, yet it was to be discussed at Mahableshwar on May 30. We shall probably have to wait for the report of that discussion before we see its scope. The "Times of India" considers the most important part of the new Bill to be that allowing for the creation of tenancies on short leases. This our contemporary considers a first step in the direction of putting a stop to the alienation of the land from the agriculturists. It asks, however, if the Government is prepared to take the place of the money lender in regard to the new tenants; for "credit of some kind they must have."

The "Times of India" goes on to suggest that the Government should take the opportunity of this meeting of the Legislative Council to declare their intentions in regard to revenue questions generally. The Bill at least shows that they do not regard the Revenue Code as "the perfection of human wisdom." Executive measures may do as much to benefit the agriculturists as large experiments in legislation. Our contemporary very appositely quotes some words from the official review of the Famine administration in the Central Provinces, to the effect that "for the next few years the energies of the Administration must be devoted to the work of restoration," and that "wherever deterioration is important and not quite temporary, abatement of the land revenue" must form a feature of the Revenue programme. The "Times of India" refuses to believe that this will not be endorsed by the Bombay Government.

Sadak Ali, who was convicted of murder by Mr. Pennell and sentenced to death in the famous Noakhali case, has been re-convicted by Mr. Geidt. The High Court threw doubt on the two chief witnesses for the prosecution, but Mr. Geidt agrees with Mr. Pennell in believing their evidence. A Calcutta journal becomes very enthusiastic over "the high moral courage and scrupulous sense of justice displayed by Mr. Geidt," in thus practically setting aside the decision of the High Court. The sentence now passed is one of transportation for life. Apparently, Mr. Geidt shrank from passing a second sentence of death on a prisoner who had already been saved from the gallows, and in addition as Sadak Ali was now indicted alone, the judge seemed to find it difficult to decide which of the guilty parties struck the fatal blow. He was quite clear that others besides Sadak Ali were concerned in the murder.

Meantime, Mr. Pennell, whose decision is thus practically endorsed by Mr. Geidt, had already left India. On the evening of May 13, he received at Bombay a telegram from the Bengal Government informing him that under Article 8 of his covenant he could not leave India without obtaining permission. Mr. Pennell answered by declaring that he was ignorant of this, but now asked permission of the Lieutenant-Governor, it not being stated from whom the permission should be sought. As while in ignorance of permission being necessary he had taken his passage home, and as he knew of no reason why permission should be refused, he declared his intention of departing on May 15. Accordingly on that day he left India, and has now reached London.

The boundaries of the new Frontier Province appear to be settled. The Simla correspondent of the "Times" (June 11) reports that they include Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, trans-Indus Bannu (excepting the Isakhel tahsil), and trans-Indus Dera Ismail Khan (excepting a slice of the Kasrani Baluch country). The cis-Indus portions of Bannu and of Dera Ismail Khan will be joined to Mianwali to make a new district of the Punjab. The Commissioner of Derajat will become Commissioner of Multan. The financial arrangements, however, are not yet ready for public inspection. It is most necessary that the public should follow with close interest the development and working of the new scheme. As we have pointed out, it is fraught with issues of the utmost importance to the prosperity of the country. If the Government can keep the border peace more effectively, well and good; if not, there comes a repeated drain on the resources of the country, depressing its prosperity at all points. A warlike as well as a peaceful Viceroy can operate with more freedom than before; and every Viceroy is very largely in the hands of his subordinates on the spot. But these can be influenced by the tone of the Viceroy, and the Viceroy will not be uninfluenced by the tone of public opinion.

Mr. Morley, speaking to his constituents at Bervie (June 6), said he was glad to think that Lord Curzon "was showing no signs of joining that forward and aggressive—perhaps he should rather say expansive—school which had brought us into mischief in India before now." On the contrary, so far as practice goes, Lord Curzon has come out of that pernicious school—provided always that things are what they seem in the present case. But what the public has to remember is that Viceroys of the most peaceful intentions have had their hands forced by the meeting of "the surge of civilisation" and "the surge of barbarism"; and while, as Mr. Morley says, "the very fact that the danger of these frontier troubles exists is the greatest reason that we should sedulously be on our guard against entering on any responsibility or incurring trouble on our borders, when by patience and good man-

agement we might avoid them," we cannot shut our eyes to the very different outlook of an energetic frontier soldier thirsting for distinction and promotion, or even for professional activity. There is needed, not only a cool and firm hand at Calcutta or Simla, but a strong public opinion adverse to frontier adventure.

"I have no stint of admiration," declared Mr. Morley, "of the stupendous fabric of government which Great Britain upholds in India, and cannot fail to admire the energy, skill, and persistence with which generation after generation of Englishmen and Scotsmen have built up and maintained that fabric." By the way, why did Mr. Morley omit Irishmen? However, taking the large general view, every one will agree with Mr. Morley. We agree unhesitatingly. The Indian National Congress agrees, and always has agreed. The only difficulty arises when one comes to the details. What we maintain, and what the Congress has always maintained, is that this general admiration must not blind us to the possibilities of improvement here and there. On the contrary, it is an Imperial and national duty to point out blots and to attempt to show how they can be removed. This, we take it, is, if often a rather thankless and even painful task, yet a truly patriotic duty. Mr. Morley, no doubt, is of the same opinion, though his immediate argument did not require him to go beyond the large generality.

In the June number of the "National Review," there is a paper by Sir Charles Roe on "The Indian Civil Service as a Career." Sir Charles, who has himself been a distinguished Civilian, makes use of his leisure in order to give some account of the Service in which he has passed his life. He begins with a short description of the Indian administration, so as to give some idea of the Civilian's duties. He then goes on to describe the work and life of the administrators, especially in those lower grades through which all must pass. From this he proceeds to weigh the advantages and cast up the emoluments which fall to the Civilian's lot. The whole is, of course, considered from the point of view of the young and clever Englishman looking about for a career. Of the vexed questions of civil administration, the admission of Indians to the Civil Service in large numbers, and the difficulty of providing for so costly an administration as the present out of the resources of the country, we hear nothing. Nevertheless, a careful scrutiny will show one or two points in which Sir Charles throws light on the question as it presents itself to Indian eyes, till we even realise that beneath the Administration there exists a vast population for whose benefit this elaborate and costly machine of government exists.

One of these points has reference to the young Civilian. In most other professions, the aspirant has to serve a long apprenticeship. The man who would be a doctor must walk the hospitals at his own expense. The barrister has usually to haunt the courts for years before he is entrusted with a brief. But the young Civilian who has just arrived in India receives his Rs. 400 per month, and learns his trade in dealing with the liberty of his Indian fellow-subjects. It is true that Sir Charles Roe declares that a wise Collector will not set his young assistant to try cases till a week or so after his arrival. That interval he can spend in studying the records of old cases. But that long period of probation being passed, he can proceed to deal out sentences of a month's imprisonment to his Majesty's Indian lieges. It is true that he will still for a long time need guidance, as "his power to understand and decide will come to him gradually." At the end of six months he may possibly be "confident that he can detect from a witness's demeanour whether he is lying or not." After twenty or thirty years' experience, he will know "that a witness's demeanour depends not on his conscience but on his nerves." And this must be a great comfort to those sentenced in the early part of the Civilian's career.

It, indeed, sometimes happens that the service in one part of India may be overmanned, and in another part or at another time it may be undermanned, so that men of short service may have to be placed in charge of districts, to the serious danger of the administration. But this is only one example of the artificial circumstances in which the Civilian is placed. Another is found in the ties which bind him to other Anglo-Indians—the equality which arises from their similarity of position, and the fellow-feeling of exiles in a strange land. But though Sir Charles makes no attempt to deal with Civil Service problems from an Indian point of view, he nevertheless concludes his paper with some weighty words on the way in which the intending Civilian should feel towards the people of the country:—

> But the advice I would strongly impress is this:—Do not choose India unless you are sure that you will feel kindly towards its people, and will have your heart in your work. If you choose it without these conditions, you will be "a bad bargain" for India, and India will ever be to you a "land of regrets."

We are glad to hear that the International Assembly, which meets this year in Glasgow, has practically arranged for a course of three lectures on India to be given in the Exhibition and the University. The subjects are distributed as follows:—

I.—The Country and the People—British Provinces and Native States—Judicial Administration.

II. Education — The Press — Self-Government—Progress.

III.—Industries and Agriculture—Railways and Irrigation—Land Revenue Administration.

It is expected that Sir John Jardine will take the first subject; Professor Murison has undertaken the second; and Mr. Romesh Dutt the third. The lectures will be delivered in successive weeks in August; the precise dates are not yet definitely settled. The arrangements are being actively carried out by Professor Patrick Geddes, in communication with Mr. Dutt.

Congratulations to Mr. B. N. Cama, the Sixth Wrangler, and Mr. C. N. Cama and Mr. H. G. R. Gharpurey, who are bracketed Seventh Wranglers. Mr. Byramji Naoroji Cama is the twin brother to Mr. C. N. Cama, and son of Mr. N. P. Cama, of Bombay, where he was born November 13, 1878. He was educated at the Bombay Proprietary High School and Elphinstone College. He entered St. John's in October, 1898, of which foundation he is a scholar. Mr. Camaji Naoroji Cama (same date of birth, school, etc.) Their college tutor was Dr. Donald MacAllister. They both at first read with Mr. Webb, and later "C.N." with Mr. Herman, and "B.N." with Mr. Coates. In the college examinations (mathematics) as freshmen (the year Paranjpye was bracketed Senior Wrangler) "C.N." was first and "B.N." fourth (Kidner and Rose separating them). The following year Kidner was first, B. N. Cama second, and C. N. Cama third. Mr. Hari Ganpal Rao Gharpurey, having obtained a scholarship at St. John's, entered that foundation in October, 1898. He is the son of Ganpal Malhar Gharpurey, and was born May 2, 1878, at Tirora, Central Provinces, India. He was educated at the Morris College, Nagpur, and Calcutta. His private coach was Dr. Hobson.

The Bishop of Calcutta, we say it with all respect, would be all the better to take a leaf out of the book of the Bishop of Bombay. We recently (May 17) quoted and commented on the large-minded views expressed by Dr. MacArthur in the notable sermon he preached in St. Paul's (April 24) to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Dr. Welldon, speaking at Oxford on Sunday last (June 9), showed himself still unable to see clearly from any point of view but the specular mount of the Church of England. "There is no alternative before the country," he says, "except Christianity or Atheism." Then he must know what are the chances of Christianity. The painful thing is that he should declare that "the inevitable and actual result of British government in India is to destroy Native beliefs"—a result he attributed to the educational system, which is secular. There is grievous extravagance in such a statement, surely. No doubt there is atheism in certain cases (as there is probably even in Oxford); but the prevailing sense of the Indian is profoundly religious. Is it possible that Bishop Welldon would either abolish the educational system or thrust Christianity into the day's teaching? In either case, we should see what we should see. Better try and find out the realities of the case from the Indian point of view.

There is one point in the Bishop's address that merits more than a passing notice. He is not so sanguine, he says, as some people seem to be about the disposition of the Natives of India towards the British Government. He acknowledges that they had "a very strong feeling for the late Queen and Empress of India," but "not for the British Government." Now, we are not by any means sure that Dr. Welldon has acquired the right to speak with authority as to the disposition of the Natives of India. But anyhow he may be taken to speak with some authority on the success of British administration. He is reported to have said this:—

> When statesmen and administrators who come home from India, or still more who have never visited India, affirm that the British Government of India is an unqualified success, I can only say that they use language which fills me with amazement.

This is a very unkind cut indeed, but we will not say anything against it as a statement of fact. Of course the Bishop, like Mr. Morley and the rest of us, would "not underrate the magnitude of that splendid achievement"; but, he adds, "when law and order and justice are ensured, the British Government stands face to face with more arduous problems of which it may or may not hold the solution, but of which it has not exhibited a solution up to the present time." The Bishop is perhaps thinking of that wicked secular education and the poor chances of the Christianity of the Church of England. But it is quite possible to think of a great many other problems, not all of them of inferior importance.

Mr. A. M. Bhimjee, of Bombay, who is now in Glasgow, is filling up the intervals of business engagements with earnest advocacy of the cause of his countrymen. The Liberal Association of the Bridgeton Division, where Professor Murison stood at the General Election, did itself the honour of giving Mr. Bhimjee his first hearing (June 4). Mr. Cochran, its honorary secretary, we learn, has been "indefatigable" in his endeavours to secure other openings also for Mr. Bhimjee—one of them in connexion with the Exhibition, which should offer an excellent opportunity. The Exhibition, however, cuts severely the other way; for it is so deeply engrossing the interest of the citizens that it is very difficult to get them to attend to anything else. However, every little helps, and Mr. Bhimjee may be trusted to make the best of his innings.

To judge from the local report of Mr. Bhimjee's address to the Bridgeton folks, he has been strongly enforcing Mr. Naoroji's plea for the fulfilment of the pledges of equal treatment first promulgated in the Act of 1833. He fortified himself with Lord Macaulay's elevated opinions on the subject, and followed up with statements to the like effect culled from the writings and speeches of other eminent officials of Indian experience. This method Mr. Bhimjee said he adopted of set purpose, thinking that the views of British statesmen and administrators would weigh more with his hearers than any opinions of his own. We note also that he cited from Mr. Justice Tyabji's Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress at Madras in 1887, a dignified and touching vindication of the "educated Natives" of India. Mr. Bhimjee further appears to have adopted the method of appeal to the better feelings of his audience in preference to argumentative assault. The advantages of this procedure are undeniable, though we confess we like to see a reasonable admixture of the facts of the situation—an omission that may be chargeable on the reporter. Anyhow, it is gratifying to know that Mr. Bhimjee was received with pronounced sympathy in Bridgeton, and that Bridgeton has put him in a fair way to make a wider appeal in and near Glasgow.

In his speech (June 7) to the Army Temperance Association, Lord Curzon mixed up with the practice of temperance some very high doctrines of Imperial duty and providential dispensation. We agree, of course, in the strongest inculcation of the virtue of temperance, whether on abstract grounds, on personal grounds, on national grounds, or on grounds of example. Lord Curzon's aim was comprehensive. He founded himself on the position of the British in India. "We are here," he said, according to the Simla correspondent of the "Times," "because Providence has, before all the world, laid a solemn duty on our shoulders. That duty is to hold this country by justice, righteousness, and good will, and to set an example to the people." In the light of history, indeed, it is something to be thankful for that the broad shoulders of Providence can be saddled with the responsibilities incident to the conquest and the administration of India. It is well, too, that our pro-consuls and lesser officials should keep before their eyes the four-fold duty of "justice, righteousness, good will, and good example." We ourselves have had something to say from time to time about the justice and the good will; and the righteousness and the good example can be spoken to by the missionaries, and by all men that keep their eyes and ears open.

The "Times" on Thursday reproduced the following passage from its issue of one hundred years ago (June 13, 1801):—

EAST INDIA BUDGET.

The House being resolved into a Committee of the whole House, on the state of Finance in India, ...

Result of the Estimates 1800-1801 collectively:—

REVENUES—	Bengal ...	£6,339,204	
	Madras ...	3,273,071	£
	Bombay ...	300,475	
	Total Revenues ...		9,912,750
CHARGES—	Bengal ...	£4,422,048	
	Madras ...	3,723,112	
	Bombay ...	1,051,693	
	Total Charges ...		9,196,853
Nett estimated Revenue of the three Presidencies ...			715,897
Deduct Supplies to Bencoolen, etc. ...			82,360
	Remainder ...		633,537
Deducted from Interest on Debts ...			1,082,042
Shews the nett deficiency of the Revenues from the Territories to be ...			448,505
Which deducted from the estimated Amount of Sales of Imports ...			591,975
	The Remainder is ...		143,470

And is the Amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1800-1801 to the purchase of investments, payment of Commercial Charges, etc.

Times are changed, with a vengeance.

We have already called attention to the new translation of the Upanishads, which is being carried through by the energy and enterprise of Mr. V. C. Seshacharri, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Vakil, High Court, Madras, and published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., of Madras. The fifth volume, which is now before us, appears to maintain the high credit that has been gained by the preceding volumes. It contains the Aitareya and the Taittiriya, translated by Mr. S. Sitarama Sastri, B.A. The Devanagari text is given, as usual, and then the translation, followed by a translation of Sri Sankara's commentary. It is announced that the translation of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, which was completed some eighteen months ago by Pandit Ganga Nath Jha, whose translation of the Chandogya was received with high praise by the most eminent Sanskritists, will be dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Max Muller, who accepted this "as a real honour." We should hope that these most interesting volumes, which are published at a ridiculously low price, will make their way in England among those that concern themselves with speculation on religion and philosophy.

Remittances on India for 50 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 1,34,10,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3⅞d. to 1s. 3d. and 15-16ths. The following amounts in bills were allotted, viz.:—Rs. 15,44,000 on Calcutta, Rs. 23,02,000 on Bombay, and Rs. 11,54,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3.906d. Tenders at 1s. 3d. and 29-32nds will receive about 51 per cent. Later the Council sold bills for Rs. 20,000 on Madras at 1s. 3d. and 15-16ths. Last week remittances for Rs. 51,56,451 were sold for £341,808, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 5,53,10,831, producing £3,670,012. Next week 50 lakhs will again be offered.

THE INDIAN FAMINE UNION.

THE Indian Famine Union was started last Friday under circumstances of the best promise. We are enabled by the courtesy of the Committee to give elsewhere a lengthy and interesting account of the proceedings in which gentlemen of the experience and distinction of Mr. Leonard Courtney, Lord Hobhouse, Sir Raymond West, Sir John Jardine, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. Romesh Dutt took a leading part. Lord Ripon was unfortunately prevented from attending, but he has intimated his willingness to join the Committee, and he sent a letter which gave admirable expression both to the function of the Famine Union and to his cordial sympathy with it. "With the object of the meeting," he wrote to Sir William Wedderburn, "I heartily sympathize. No subject connected with India is of greater or more pressing importance than the prevention of famine, and I am convinced that such an investigation as you propose cannot fail to produce valuable results and to help in the solution of the many difficulties by which the question of famine in India is beset." Sir William Muir was no less cordial. "I should be glad," he wrote, "to aid in any way in this most excellent work, and to co-operate in any endeavour" for the purpose of "lessening the risks and the sad effects of famine in India." In tracing the genesis of the Famine Union there is no need at present to survey the efforts which have been made for so many years to secure adequate enquiry into means of preventing, as distinguished from means of relieving, famine. The definite organisation which has now been so successfully founded was proposed by Sir William Wedderburn in a letter to the "Times" of April 9. He then suggested the formation of "a National Union on a purely economic basis having for its specific object to investigate the causes of Indian famines, and to determine by scientific methods the direction in which practical means of prevention may most usefully be sought." In a further letter, printed in the "Times" of April 16, Sir William Wedderburn explained that "the enquiry proposed is of a modest and practical character, involving but little expense and no disturbance of current Indian administration. No roving Imperial Commission is desired, or any large collection of facts and figures relating to the whole of India. All that I ask for is a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a few selected villages, to be conducted on the spot under the direction of the various local Governments." The primary purpose of the Famine Union is to give effect to this programme. The four resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the preliminary conference last Friday, on the motion of Lord Hobhouse, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. Thorburn, are parts of one organic whole. The first resolution declared that it is desirable to form a National Union for the purpose indicated. The second formed a Provisional Committee to constitute the Union and to place it upon a broad and practical basis. The third expressed appreciation of the energy and ability with which the relief operations have been conducted, and the desire of the meeting to co-operate with the Government of India in its efforts to deal with a great national calamity. The fourth provided for the preparation of a Memorial "asking the Secretary of State for India to cause a detailed enquiry to be carried out in selected typical villages in each of the Provinces affected by the famine, with a view to ascertain the actual condition of the cultivator and to suggest means by which he may be enabled better to withstand the attacks of famine." The Union is, therefore, a strictly non-party association, anxious to co-operate with the Government of India, whose admirable work it heartily appreciates, and designed primarily to secure enquiry into the condition of the rayat.

Mr. Leonard Courtney, whom the Union has been so fortunate as to secure for its Chairman, met by anticipation in his opening speech the conceivable but ludicrous criticism that the Union seeks to abolish the alternation of the seasons. Such a misconception, if it were entertained, could arise only from a misuse of the term famine. Famine is not drought. It is not even lack of produce caused by drought. It is a state of suffering in living creatures, brought about by hunger, which in its turn may be due to many different causes. The object of the Famine Union is to ascertain these causes, and if possible meet them, so far as India is concerned. It is not a change in the weather but a change in economic conditions that has driven famine from Europe. It is conceivable, though we deny that it is true, that famine is inevitable in India. But in any case, as Mr. Courtney well said, nobody has a right to hold that famine is inevitable until he has "exhausted every means of searching out the truth." The aim of the Union is to prosecute this search, in a special and modest way, with the sanction and the assistance of the Government. Lord Hobhouse, who is old-fashioned enough to believe that there is some connexion between the condition of a people and the wisdom with which their rulers manage their affairs, observed that famine has become both more frequent and more severe in India. The phenomenon points, as he said, to some cause or causes more deeply seated and less variable than the clerk of the weather. Lord Hobhouse desiderates, as so many of us do, the "stock-taking" which in the days of the East India Company preceded at regular intervals the renewal of their charter. But no such comprehensive enquiry is demanded by the Famine Union, which seeks rather to pluck out from a selected set of typical phenomena the mystery of agricultural destitution. Incidentally, Lord Hobhouse referred to the evanescent nature of the charitable machinery which Indian famines, when they reach a height no longer to be met by a denial of the fact, call forth in this country. To give greater promptitude and permanence to this machinery may well be one of the collateral functions of the Union. As for the attitude of the Government of India and the Indian Civil Service to the proposed enquiry, we hope and trust that it will be not merely favourable but even cordial. It is only human nature, as Lord Hobhouse put it, that zealous and diligent officers should dislike interruption of their duties. But the modest enquiry which is a necessary preliminary to the work of the Union involves no such interruption. On the other hand it may well afford a channel of expression for those valuable ideas which, as Sir Raymond West reminds us, occur to Anglo-Indian officers in the course of their work among the people, but which do not come to the surface in Government reports. There are many reasons, including the important one of pre-occupation in the daily routine, which prevent reforms from springing up among officials. But when officials retire the same obstacles do not remain. Sir Raymond West declares, as Lord George Hamilton declared in effect in the House of Commons last year, that a famine means in India that the people have not the money to buy food. That fact, even if it stood alone, would render economic enquiry indispensable.

Mr. Caine, in a brief and spirited speech, said with truth and justice that the Indian Civil Service is the ablest in the world. Its members, he believes, are ready and willing to carry out any reforms which are made clear to them. But no official zeal can dispense with the need of enquiry. Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, whom it is pleasant to find co-operating heartily with the founders of the Union, spoke with equal emphasis of the generosity of the British public and the need of tracing the causes, in addition to relieving the effects, of famine. The real question, he said, has to do with the buying capacity of the people, and the time has gone by when a single individual in India need die through want of food. He dwelt especially, as he has dwelt in the House of Commons, upon the need of technical instruction and industrial development. Sir John Jardine's speech indicated yet another function which the Famine Union may and should discharge—the all-important function of keeping the public in the United Kingdom alert upon questions connected with the welfare of India. We entirely agree with his opinion that a national grant to the relief funds would have been, and would still be, extremely popular in this country. It is not yet too late for the grant to be made. We hope, too, with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whose speech was a model of conciseness and restraint, that the Famine Union will rest satisfied with nothing less than the whole truth. Mr. Digby and Mr. Dutt were able to speak from personal knowledge of famine relief operations, and no competent observer will dissent from their tributes, in which the whole meeting heartily joined, to the energy and capacity

of Lord Curzon and his officers, or their exposition of the part which external help may play in combating famine. It fell to Mr. Thorburn to propose, and to Sir William Wedderburn to second, the resolution providing for a Memorial to Lord George Hamilton. Mr. Thorburn, as readers of his admirable report on peasant indebtedness in the Rawalpindi division are aware, was able to speak with authority of the value and the necessity of an enquiry of the kind which is now sought, while Sir William Wedderburn showed, from the nature of the village community in India, with its remarkable union of strength in essentials and plasticity in form, the prime necessity of proceeding by induction rather than by deduction—from the particular to the general, not from the general to the particular. He ended, as the Chairman had begun, by emphasizing the need of Government sanction and assistance, which produced such valuable results, for example, in the case of the Deccan Riots Commission. Rarely, we imagine, has a meeting of such importance to India been held in London. It was important from every point of view, whether one regards the dimensions of the problem to be grappled with or the wealth of experience and good will brought to bear upon it. If the Famine Union fulfils the promise of its inauguration, the Seventh of June should be marked with a white stone in the history of India and of the Empire.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

"I do not propose on this occasion," said Mr. Balfour, the other night, "to attempt anything in the nature of a massacre." There could have been no massacre, even if the Tory leader had contemplated one. On his own showing the legislative programme of the Government, apart from the necessary financial measures of the year, comprised only three Bills of the first magnitude. "We must pass the Rating Bill," he declared, "the Factory Bill, and the Education Bill." Mr. Balfour spoke in the imperative mood, but by no means imperiously. The Rating Bill will undoubtedly be passed, if only because it affects the pockets of the landlords, and it is probable that with the aid of the Opposition, Mr. Ritchie will succeed in carrying his Factory Bill. But the Education Bill belongs to another category. The Opposition are opposed to it, and the Ministerialists are not enamoured of it. When the massacre begins, it will doubtless begin and end with the Education Bill.

Although the Government conciliated the Opposition by offering facilities for the further progress of the Bill which proposes to prohibit the sale of intoxicants to children, Mr. Balfour's motion appropriating practically the whole of the remainder of the Session for Ministerial business was only carried by a majority of thirty-three. Every week produces some fresh demonstration, similar to this, of the precarious nature of the Government's hold on the confidence of Parliament. One of these nights the majority will disappear altogether, and leave the country face to face with a political crisis. The responsibility is Mr. Balfour's. His mismanagement of public affairs becomes more and more glaring, while his indifference to popular opinion derives encouragement from the silence of the Liberal leaders.

Rumours of an autumn Session continue to agitate the Parliamentary atmosphere. One is inclined to be sceptical with regard to any report which implies that Mr. Balfour is endowed with an excess of energy. Why should the present Government, of all Governments, inaugurate an era of autumn Sessions? There was an autumn Session last year, but it was necessitated by the General Election; and an autumn Session the year before, but that was due to the financial exigencies of the war. Unless the Government are in need of money, they will scarcely call Parliament together a day before the usual time. The suggestion is that a special Session will be required for the discussion of the Education Bill. Those who say so are more enthusiastic about education than Lord Salisbury and his colleagues have ever been.

Public confidence in the trustworthiness of the English Press has suffered a rude shock within the last few days. Twice within a week has Lord Kitchener had occasion to telegraph home denying the accuracy of certain statements, forwarded from the front by accredited correspondents. In the first case the inaccuracy was of a peculiarly flagrant character. It took the form of a description of the engagement at Vlakfontein, in which the Boers were accused of having slain in cold blood two English prisoners who had refused to turn a captured British gun against their own comrades. The story was highly circumstantial, yet Lord Kitchener has declared it to be entirely without foundation. The second canard was less mischievous. It brought news of a British victory, which turned out to be purely imaginary. The remedy for this discreditable laxity on the part of the responsible correspondents would seem to be more liberty for the Press. Official censorship is useless, for it offers no guarantee of accuracy. If our sources of information were multiplied the information itself would come in a purer stream.

Conjecture is busy as to the motive of Mrs. Louis Botha's visit to Europe. The Boer Commandant's wife arrived in London last Saturday, and it is said that on the following day she had an interview with Mr. Chamberlain. There is nothing improbable in the report, but it lacks confirmation. Her secretary, Mr. Fischer, is less reticent than Mrs. Botha herself. He has been interviewed, and perhaps unintentionally has conveyed the impression that Mrs. Botha is the emissary not only of her own people but also of Lord Kitchener. She remains in London for a few days, and will afterwards cross to Holland, presumably to see Mr. Kruger.

Mrs. Botha is perhaps the most remarkable of the women who have been associated with recent controversies in South Africa. The list is a long one. In includes the names of Miss Flora Shaw, who was one of the figures of the Jameson conspiracy; Miss Olive Schreiner, the true Cassandra of the war; Mrs. Kruger, with whom Lord Roberts took tea, perhaps to lend countenance to the simple diplomacy which prompted Mr. Chamberlain in a memorable telegram to make enquiry about the venerable lady's health; Mrs. Cronje, the heroine, no less than her husband was the hero, of Paardeberg; and Mrs. Richard Chamberlain, the accuser of the doctors and the compassionate intercessor on behalf of the Jameson culprits. To Mrs. Botha will always belong the honour of having brought her husband and Lord Kitchener together in the interests of peace.

A radiant vision flashed through the dusty corridors of St. Stephen's the other evening. It was Madame Sarah Bernhardt. She came trailing clouds of glory in the form of an agitated procession of eminent statesmen. Sir Howard Vincent was the envied of all observers, for upon him had fallen Madame's choice of a cicerone. Within the chamber, Sir M. Hicks-Beach was discoursing on the sweetening matter in glucose. Little did he know that the eyes of the most famous actress in Europe were gazing at him through the glass panel in compassionate perplexity. Some true friends of the mother of Parliaments kept Sarah out of the House till glucose had been put away. When she entered the Ladies' Gallery, Mr. Labouchere was providing suitable entertainment in the shape of a dissertation on the domestic economy of the King's Household. Tea on the terrace followed as a matter of course, and afterwards the Empress of the drama had a peep at the House of Lords, happily untenanted. Altogether, Madame Bernhardt must have carried away a flattering impression of the British Parliament. It was a sight to be remembered to see the great lady standing in the members' lobby surrounded as she was at one time by a hatless circle of reverential Peers and breathless Commoners.

Two distinguished men of letters have passed away within the last few days. The elder, Sir Walter Besant, was a publicist as well as a litterateur, a practical philanthropist as well as a dreamer of fascinating dreams, a novelist who had discovered the secret of combining business capacity with imaginative genius. His contemporary, Mr. Robert Buchanan, was at least equally gifted in one sense, but Scot though he was he had little of the shrewd commonsense and wise thrift which enabled Sir Walter Besant to discover in literature a source of affluence. Mr. Buchanan was essentially a Bohemian, and he dearly loved an intellectual scrimmage.

THE INDIAN FAMINE UNION.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS.

(Special Report.)

On Friday afternoon last (June 7) a preliminary Conference of gentlemen having special experience of Indian affairs was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel in order to begin the organization of the Indian Famine Union, the purpose of which is to investigate the economic causes of famine in India and to promote possible means of prevention. The Right Hon. Leonard H. Courtney presided, and among those present were the Right Hon. Lord Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (sometime Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council), Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E. (formerly Judge of the Bombay High Court), Sir George C. M. Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E. (formerly Judge of the Bombay High Court), Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., M.P., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., Mr. S. S. Thorburn (late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab), Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E. (I.C.S., retired), Mr. Horace Bell, M.I.C.E. (formerly officiating Director-General of Railways in India), Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E. (formerly acting Commissioner of Orissa), Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. T. A. Denny, Mr. Francis Loraine Petre (I.C.S., retired), and Mr. G. P. Pillai (Editor of the "Madras Standard").

Sir W. Wedderburn read letters of regret for absence from the Right Hon. the Marquess of Ripon, K.G. (who had offered to join the Committee of the Union), Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir William Markby, K.C.I.E., and Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I. Lord Ripon wrote:—

Studley Royal, Ripon, May 28, 1901.

Mr dear Sir William,—I am sorry to say that as I do not expect to be in London on June 7, it will not be possible for me to attend the meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel. With the object of that meeting I heartily sympathize. No subject connected with India is of greater or more pressing importance than the prevention of famine, and I am convinced that such an investigation as you propose cannot fail to produce valuable results and to help in the solution of the many difficulties by which the question of famine is beset. Yours sincerely,

(Signed), Ripon.

Sir William Muir wrote:—

Evradour House, Berwick, 23/4/1901.

Dear Wedderburn,—Many thanks for sending me your interesting papers regarding the means to be taken for lessening the risks and the sad effects of famine in India. I should be glad to aid in any way in this most excellent work, and to cooperate in any endeavour for the purpose. I am at present away in the country for a time. I remain, yours very truly,

(Signed), W. Muir.

The Chairman (the Right Hon. Leonard Courtney) said his words upon this occasion would be very few. He was conscious that he was in the presence of men who knew much more of India and the special subject connected with India, concerning which they were met together, than he could claim to know, and he ought, therefore, to be silent in their presence rather than address them. He would say, however, that it had not been of his seeking to fill the chair which he now occupied, but he did not see his way to refusing the gentle pressure which Sir William Wedderburn put upon him, and here he was. They were met together, as he understood, for the purpose of forming, if possible, an association which should consider the question of the prevention, and if that were not possible, the remedying or abating the effects of the famine in India. He saw an objection that would at once be raised by some, arising out of the improper meaning which was attributed by many men to the word famine. They would say that it was sought to abolish the alternation of the seasons, that there would be periods more or less of drought, that all the wise men in the world would not be able to prevent that in the future, and that they must, therefore, expect famine as a necessary thing in the future history of the world. But that phase did not cover, as he would suggest, the proper use of the word famine. He would not say that it was beyond the reach of human thought to abolish droughts; it might be that by the partial re-afforestation of India the risk of drought might be diminished; it might be that by the continual conquest of nature we might be able to do away with the effects of that scarcity of rain which happened in a particular season. But famine was not drought, or even the lack of produce which followed from drought: it was the suffering of human creatures which was consequent upon these varying seasons, the deprivation of the means of sustenance that such seasons of calamity brought, and the question which he hoped they would discuss with some practical effect was the means of preventing droughts that would occur, doubtless, for some time to come, from being followed by such awful consequences as they had seen of late, and indeed continuously in the history of India. He would remind them in this connexion that here in England they used to have famine. Their area was very much smaller and their population very much more limited than the area and the population affected in India, but though the problem had been easier and more capable of being solved still they had had famine. But for the last fifty years in Great Britain no suggestion of famine had been mooted. In some parts of Ireland there might have been some degree of it, but in Great Britain, thanks to the legislation which had not made the population of this island dependent upon its own produce, they had long since ceased to fear famine. He noted that the Association which they hoped to establish proposed to consider whether it was possible to abate famine in British India in the future. It might be that they would find that the motives of conduct and the principles of action of the rayat in India were such that when confronted with the methods of British order it would be impossible to prevent famine following upon drought: it might be that they would have to accept that dismal confession, but he hoped it was not so. (Hear, hear.) At all events, they must commence their enquiry in the belief that until they had exhausted every means of searching out the truth they were not to rest in the terrible position that in the nature of things such evils must follow. The enquiry which it was proposed to establish was of a very special and limited nature. They understood, if Sir William Wedderburn's ideas were adopted by them, that they should enter into an examination of some representative district or districts in which they might go to the root of the matter so far as those areas were concerned, and perhaps pluck out from them the mysteries which would explain the social phenomena of the greater part of British India; and it was hoped that this modest enquiry might be undertaken not only with the sanction, but with the assistance of the Government. (Hear, hear.) There was some reason to believe that the Government was very friendly to the enquiry. The negotiations—if such a word might be applied to what had passed—the interviews which had been held with gentlemen connected with the India Office revealed extreme friendliness and a desire to ascertain in what direction help could with advantage be given. (Hear, hear.) He thought he need say no more than to point out the modesty of the proposal suggested. A limited enquiry only was contemplated, and with the help which they hoped for from the Government in pressing it forward they trusted that some good results would follow. (Hear, hear.)

THE FIRST RESOLUTION.

FORMATION OF A NATIONAL UNION.

Lord Hobhouse said he had come there at the request of Sir William Wedderburn to move a resolution, and he felt, as the Chairman felt, that he was speaking to a number of gentlemen of whom probably every one knew a good deal more about the matter than he did, and it would be impertinent for him to do more than give the barest outline of the reasons which brought him there. He thought that most people felt at times, though they constantly forgot it, that there was some connexion between the condition of the people and the wisdom with which its rulers managed their affairs, and that we here in England who had made ourselves rulers of India had some responsibility for at all events doing our very best to prevent the great evils that afflict the Indian population. That was admitted at times, but it was very often forgotten; but the times which most struck us were those when some dreadful calamity came over the country and the wails of the people were forced upon our ears. In those cases when famine had reached such a height that it could not be met by a denial of the facts—which was one mode of meeting the mischief—and it could not be comfortably turned aside by general reflections upon the differences between Europe and India and the inscrutable ways of Providence, when it had reached that height then some activity was shown. Some public bodies and private individuals moved, and some degree of alleviation, all too small, was applied to the miseries from which the people were suffering. Then the crisis abated, and directly it abated the whole machinery of charity was dissolved into its original elements. He thought most people felt that this was a most unsatisfactory thing. One result of it was that on every fresh occasion we had to reconstitute the charitable machinery of every kind. Everybody felt that it was most desirable not to set to work in a public affair without the consent of the Government, and yet for some reason or other he never knew why, whether the difficulty was in England or India, the Government had invariably been found to be very unwilling to call into action the voluntary aid which was proffered to them. Then another consideration, and a very grave one, was that for a considerable time—take for instance the last quarter of a century—the famines in India had been more frequent and more severe than they used to be, and that pointed to some cause more deeply seated and less variable than the Clerk of the Weather. (Hear, hear.) Again, it used to be the case in the days of the East India Company that every twenty years when they applied for a renewal of their charter there was an enquiry, in which important questions were mooted, sometimes settled, and very valuable information gained as to the condition of India. Now the whole of that had been stopped since the Company was merged into the Crown, and now there was no enquiry of the kind. All these things seemed to his mind to point to the necessity for some more permanent agency for working in a more methodical way for the purpose of helping the Government of India to trace the causes of these terrible visitations, and, if possible to mitigate their baneful effects. Now the resolution which had to be submitted to the meeting was as follows:—"That, looking to the sufferings of the Indian masses, and the responsibility of the British people for their welfare, it is desirable to form a National Union, on an

economic and philanthropic basis, to be called the 'Indian Famine Union,' having for its special object to investigate the causes of Indian famines and to promote possible means of prevention." That resolution was of an abstract character. It was, of course, intended to lead up to a committee, and the usual mode of putting abstract resolutions into practical effect. The pith of the proposal was that to which the Chairman adverted, and which was the subject of a subsequent resolution which proposed that there should be a line of enquiry which he believed to be a new line (at all events it was one which had never been followed methodically or on a great scale), but it was believed to be by Sir William Wedderburn and others a perfectly feasible line; and if feasible then it was one that went right to the bottom of things—to ascertain in typical areas the status of individual men, women, and children who were suffering from these visitations, and it was reasonable to expect from that enquiry a kind of knowledge which might lead to valuable results, and without which he would venture to say that no valuable or solid results could be obtained. No doubt there were difficulties in the way of such an enquiry. It was only human nature that hard-working, honest, able, and zealous officials should dislike to be interfered with in their offices, and should think that more time was wasted in making enquiries than the results would ever repay. Opposition must therefore be expected from them, because it always occurred, and a sustained and combined effort would be necessary to bring such an enquiry about. But it was necessary in every department of official life, and in all life, that on occasions comprehensive views should be taken of the working of institutions, and that they should be correlated with the new phenomena which the chances and changes of life were constantly bringing to our view, and that must be done by those who stood outside the offices while working as far as possible with those who stood inside. A resolution like that before the meeting meant that there was to be a quantity of hard detailed work to be done by somebody, and he was sorry to say he would not be the somebody who would put his shoulder to the wheel. He had arrived at that time of life when a man was obliged to say to his comrades not "come along," but "go along." He must say "go along" to them, and he grieved to say it. He was sure that if they did go along they would be on the path that was likely to lead to wisdom and good results. He now moved the resolution. (Applause.)

Sir Raymond West said he was happy to second the resolution. He wished he had more time to consider the subject in all its length and breadth. Notwithstanding the abstract nature of the resolution it suggested a number of very practical questions. Those who had had a long and practical experience in India knew that ideas occurred to them in their actual working with the people that never came to the surface in Government reports, because they got lost in the minute channels which they had traversed, and thus valuable means, he would not say of preventing droughts, but of preventing many of the evils in India passed away. He took it that the object of this resolution was to bring a wider and more varied intelligence and greater knowledge to bear on the great problems that were set before them, for it was the duty of the Government and the nation to do all they could for the millions in India who were under the sway of our Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) In India, as elsewhere, reform did not spring up as a rule among the officials, because if an official happened to be a reformer he was likely to get a snub; but there were many men both inside and outside the service of the Government who were capable of making suggestions that were worthy of consideration. Their views were based on special experience, and were calculated to lead to the finding out of what was the root of the famines so far as it depended upon human causes. Then it might be possible to find a particular remedy for the condition of things. He spoke with confidence, having been an official himself. But the necessary knowledge was not to be obtained unless the officials would work hand in hand with the outside agencies. Of course, there would be considerable difficulties in getting European ideas readily adopted in the villages, but they must endeavour to ascertain what were the means of effecting their object, and also bring to bear the force of the Government in many cases. India abounded in the materials for manufacturing industries, and these might be developed to an extent that was never even thought of by most people. A famine meant really that people had not money to purchase food; if they had the money they could get the food within a reasonable distance. The question as to how they could get money appeared to be the principal problem, and one of the most feasible answers to that was that the industries should be developed. He believed the Government were so alive to the importance of this matter that they would willingly give assistance, and that by and bye they would see committees composed of men with special technical knowledge of the subject appointed to deal with it. He trusted that that might be so, and that much good might result from the combination. They would at all events be doing their duty if they promoted the object set forth in the resolution before the meeting. (Applause.)

Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., said there was no need for him to make a speech in supporting the resolution. He quite agreed with the remark that administrative reforms very seldom came from the administrator, but from outside, and the intelligence of such a gathering as this might well be directed to the question they were discussing, which was such a blot upon this country. The Indian Civil Service was the ablest in the world, and was only too ready and willing, with an amount of self-sacrifice which was well known, to endeavour to carry out all reforms that were made clear to it. But it was not easy for them to see things as outside critics saw them, and he hoped that this meeting would be able to bring to bear upon this whole question of famine and the causes which led to famine an amount of cultured intelligence and experience which would be of the greatest possible value to the Indian Administration. He must express his thanks to Sir William Wedderburn for the great pains and self-denying energy he had brought to bear upon the initial stages of this movement. The initial stages were the most arduous in many respects, and it only added to the great respect he felt for Sir William Wedderburn for his untiring devotion to the people of India and their interests. (Applause.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

THE SECOND RESOLUTION.
THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, M.P., said he had great pleasure in proposing the second resolution which ran as follows:—"That the following gentlemen be invited to form themselves into a Provisional Committee, with power to add to their number, in order to decide what steps should be taken to constitute the Union, and to place it upon a broad and practical basis." The names were as follows:—Mr. Courtney, Lord Hobhouse, Sir Raymond West, Sir George Birdwood, Sir John Jardine, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. D. Rees, Mr. Horace Bell, Mr. William Digby, Mr. Romesh Dutt, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. T. A. Denny, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, and Mr. G. P. Pillai. He welcomed this movement on more grounds than one, and he thought it fit to take that opportunity to express deep gratitude for the extremely generous and sympathetic way in which the people of Great Britain had regarded the woes and sufferings of the people in India during the famines. They had come forward with great generosity to try and relieve the distress caused by recent famines, and he believed that an organization such as was proposed would tend to give continuity to the efforts for evoking that sympathy of which they had had so many examples in recent times. The more substantial part of the operations of the Union would be to trace the causes of the famines, and find out the remedies. As regarded the tracing of the causes the Chairman, Lord Hobhouse, and Sir Raymond West had done justice to the matter. They knew that the Government was doing its very best to relieve the sufferers through famine, but what they needed now to do was not an enquiry into relief operations, but into the causes of those famines, and find out whether there were any possible means of averting them. And that was their object in meeting that day. Famines would appear to have become the order of the day in India; he did not mean to say there were no famines before British rule, because research into the subject had led him to the belief that there were as, if not more, severe famines in earlier times. But he believed the conditions for averting them now were altered. Sir Raymond West had very forcibly brought out the proposition which he (the speaker) had over and over again asserted, viz., that there was no reason why the people of India should suffer from famines in this present age of communication by railway and water. As grain could be now easily procured from long distances, the whole question resolved itself into the buying capacity of the people. If we had, and we should have, control over the condition of the people and over their buying power, he maintained that although there might be famines—droughts and dearth of crops and so forth—still the time was passed when a single individual should die for want of food, or a community should suffer from want of food to any very serious extent. (Hear, hear.) The question of the buying power of a community raised a great many other questions. It raised the consideration of great administrative and economic reforms. He did not deny the urgency of these reforms for one moment, but he held very strongly the opinion that India had deplorably failed from various causes to develope its industrial energies, and thereby to combat the hardships of famine. One of the chief functions of this Union would be, he took it, to direct the attention both of the Government and the people themselves to the means of developing the industrial, technical, and scientific capacity of the nation, that the buying power might be increased (Hear, hear.) He thought he might join with his friend Mr. Caine in congratulating themselves that Sir William Wedderburn had brought his great experience and his sympathy with the Indian people to bear upon a movement like this. They were on the right track that afternoon, and he trusted God's blessing would attend the efforts of the Union, which he hoped might be the foundation of a permanent movement tending to mitigate, if not entirely conquer, the sufferings caused by these famines. (Applause.)

Sir J. Jardine said he was not usually very willing to join in starting new societies in London, but he thought, considering the enormity of the suffering caused by famines in India and the number of them that had occurred last century, especially of late years that if ever there was an opportunity of having some organised means of awaking public opinion they had it now. Turning to the past, one could not but fear that the same things might have to be encountered in the future. He looked upon this proposed Association as a means of keeping the public in the United Kingdom alert. In all their Universities in England, Scotland, and Ireland they had professors dealing with economics, and surely considering the immense importance of India to the British Empire the men of learning ought to be encouraged constantly to deal with the literature of this peculiarly Indian subject. He had found a great deal of interest taken in the subject of the condition of India when he had addressed meetings held by the Mayors in England on behalf of the Famine Fund, and the keenest interest in Scotland, even during the African war; and men were always ready to listen to the

argument that there were three hundred millions of people in India to whom we owed enormous obligations, whereas there were comparatively only a few thousands in South Africa. When he went on to tell his audiences about the refusal to give any substantial sum of money to India their sympathies were at once aroused and the people of Roxburghshire would have voted a much larger sum than three millions. He found that considerable interest was taken in these questions, especially in these times when the people of India were going through such terrible sufferings by hundreds of thousands and millions; for though we were in the midst of war the fact remained that during the famine, which was not over yet, there were nearly as many people on the relief works getting their twopence or threepence a day from the Government as there were in all our dominions in South Africa. It was very desirable that they should constantly keep the circumstances of India before the British people. At the time of the general election, in the addresses that were put forward by the candidates they would find that only about one in two hundred made the slightest allusion to India at the time it was passing through these terrible sufferings. It was for these reasons chiefly that he would support this Association as a means of keeping the question before politicians, the universities with their learned professors, and the trade interests also, as far as possible, and put before all classes anything that was of interest concerning such calamities. He wished they could have on the Executive Committee more men connected with the Press, for his experience was that people would read what was in the daily newspapers but seldom what was published in special tracts, and he believed that the more they could make use of the daily newspaper in bringing facts to the notice of the public the greater the effect would be upon all classes. He had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE THIRD RESOLUTION.

"TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT."

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji proposed the third resolution, as follows:—"That, recognising the energy and ability with which, under the direction of His Excellency the Viceroy, the famine relief operations have been conducted, this meeting desires to co-operate with the Government in its efforts to deal with this great national calamity." He said their object was to find out the causes of and the remedy for the famines in India, and he did not propose to give his views at that moment. He would move the resolution with the hope that the whole truth would be found out by the Union. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. Digby said he had much pleasure in seconding the resolution. He did not think it would be right or fitting, in deference to Lord Curzon and to our fellow-countrymen in India who had laboured so devotedly during the last famine, that such an occasion as this should be allowed to pass without their putting prominently forward among the subjects of their deliberation and consideration the admirable manner in which they had administered the duties which had fallen to them. The famine relief operations which were carried out last year, as compared with the operations during preceding famines, were such as to extort the highest admiration possible for men to express in recognition of the good work that had been done. Carrying his recollection back to the famine of 1877 he could see the advance that had been made in the intervening period in the relief of those whose misfortune it was to have undergone sufferings such as it was impossible to adequately describe. The famine code under which the relief operations of the Government of India were now carried out was a marvel of administrative skill, and when to the arrangements that that code typified there was added the devotion of the British civilians who were engaged in the work of administering the affairs of India, combined also with the equal devotion of the people of the country who were associated with them in carrying it out, he thought that they, a body of Englishmen and Indians who were interested in the good government of India, should be proud of an opportunity such as was now offered to them of recognising the admirable manner in which everyone who was called upon to perform his duties had carried out the task. (Applause.) In saying this he was not forgetful of certain facts revealed in the Commission of Enquiry over which Sir Antony MacDonnell presided. But, taking the work of the Viceroy and the subordinates as a whole in the relief of the sufferers of the last famine, everybody admitted that it was done in a manner which was worthy of the highest praise to which they could give expression. (Hear, hear.) As to the resolution which he had the honour of seconding, he thought that for those of them who were outside the services in India there had always been opportunities to take a part in the combat against famines there, and if Lord Curzon knew of this meeting that day he was sure he would hail it with great gratification; for he had said over and over again in the speeches he had made that he desired the people both in India and in England should acquaint themselves with the subject, he being satisfied that the more the circumstances were known the greater would be the help which the Government would receive in their endeavour not only to relieve suffering in time of famine but also to prevent famines occurring. Hitherto it had been open to outsiders like himself to take a part in famine relief: now they wanted, if they were permitted, to take a part in famine prevention, and he was satisfied that if good work had been done by those who were not engaged in Government service in helping to relieve the people who were suffering, equally good work could be done by those who tried to prevent famines occurring. For his own part, he ventured to think that famines might be prevented in India; but, as the Chairman had said, in times past famines had occurred in this country the fear of which had been now entirely removed, the causes which led to them having been examined, and arrangements made affecting the whole of the body politic in order to prevent such famines recurring. He was convinced, from such slight investigations as he had made, that the same thing might be brought about in India; but he felt that the work was one which, with the best intentions in the world—and he believed that whatever course the Government of India took it was animated by a sincere desire to benefit the people of that country—yet, with the best intentions, the overworked civilians of India, those men whose minds were mainly bent upon the particular portion of the work they had to do, could not, without the assistance of those who, if this Union performed its duty, accomplish what was necessary. He had, therefore, much pleasure in seconding this resolution, and he believed that there lay before the Association which they were creating that afternoon a work as great as that of any of the noble associations of the past, such as the Anti-Slavery Society and the Anti-Corn Law League, if only those upon whom that work devolved would take it up "with both hands earnestly" and labour according to the needs existing, which were growing greater in India year by year. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Dutt said he had very great pleasure in supporting the resolution, and his remarks would be very few because he had little to add to what had already been said. There was no doubt that from the commencement of this great calamity which came in 1899, the present Viceroy had tried to do all that was humanly possible to prevent deaths and relieve suffering, and those who had watched the operations during the last two years had seen with what a considerable degree of success those efforts had been attended. Of course, there had been deaths in spite of what was done, but, taking the work of the relief as a whole, he did not think a more gigantic effort had been made in India to meet such awful conditions. (Hear, hear.) This was not only well known but appreciated in every part of India, and he had read in all the leading Indian newspapers expressions of universal satisfaction that the Government of India, headed by Lord Curzon, had done all that it possibly could do to relieve this great calamity. He was in India about the end of 1899 and the beginning of 1900, when he had some opportunities of seeing the operations which were then being carried out. Therefore, he had not the slightest hesitation in giving his strongest support to this resolution. It was hoped that steps would now be taken to prevent a recurrence of famines in the future. It had been stated that there were famines in England 50 or 60 years ago, and if we read the history of other countries in Europe—France and Germany—we should find that there were famines in those countries which were as frequent and as destructive as the famines in India. And if these famines were things of the past in England, France, and Germany, he was perfectly certain that by good administration and increased energy, by reviving the industries of India, by looking into the condition of agriculturists, it would be possible in future to prevent famines in India also. At least, it would be possible to prevent a recurrence of the great sufferings of the past, and, therefore, they might look forward with great hope. There had been no less than ten severe famines in India since 1860—that is to say, within the last forty years. He hoped that the result of the present movement would be to prevent a recurrence of these famines in the future. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE FOURTH RESOLUTION.

MEMORIAL PRAYING FOR DETAILED ENQUIRY.

Mr. S. S. Thorburn rose to move the following resolution:—"That, looking to the wide divergence of opinion regarding the economic condition of the Indian cultivator, and the causes of his difficulties, a Memorial be prepared asking the Secretary of State for India to cause a detailed enquiry to be carried on in selected typical villages in each of the Provinces affected by the famine, with a view to ascertain the actual condition of the cultivator and to suggest means by which he may be enabled better to withstand the attacks of famine." He said that he moved the resolution because in the years 1895-6 he carried through an enquiry in the Punjab very much upon the lines set forth in the resolution. When he first read Sir William Wedderburn's letters to the "Times" he thought his proposals unnecessary. He wrote to him for an interview and read some papers upon the subject and saw reason to change his mind. Some causes of famine and the remedies for famine were of course well known, but the question of administrative reforms was the subject of discussion among most men. In speaking of the people of India he wished to confine the remarks he had to make to the agriculturists. More than fifty per cent. of the rural population of India consisted of what might be called dependents—village menials, weavers, and day labourers, and low castes. These people had no direct permanent connexion with the land, although they depended for their livelihood upon successful agriculture. They had so little credit that when a famine occurred, if they survived the famine, they quickly recovered their status quo. That was not so with the agriculturists who, after each succeeding famine, were left worse off than they were before. He was certain that the Government of India and all the local governments were earnest in the desire to ameliorate the condition of the agriculturists, but being engaged in their current duties and for other reasons they had no time to take up and push through great problems of reform. Consequently, it was possible that the patient might die before his disease was diagnosed, or, if diagnosed, before a remedy was found. He thought that English public opinion, if properly informed, might facilitate and quicken the diagnosis, and perhaps suggest some of the remedies. With their permission, he would like to

run over some of the points in the health record of the patient. Before the advent of British power in India, every man's credit extended to the next crop, and the paltry assets about his door. With the advent of the British dominion law and order were established upon British models. Credit expanded to the limit of the ever appreciating assets of the agriculturists. After a time they began to borrow and lose, and all that time the astute few were lending and acquiring. The consequences of the changed order of things were first observable in the Bombay Deccan. Quite sixty years ago district officers began to report to the Government that the Deccan rayats were impoverished and were transferring land to the money lenders. Then in the North-West Provinces during the Mutiny the cultivators turned out the parvenu landlords and re-instated their own indigenous landlords. He came now to 1875. At that time the Deccan rayats of Bombay had become weary of waiting. Some thirty villages rose against our system, and against the strangers who had manipulated it. A Commission of Enquiry was apppointed, and in 1879 an Act called the Deccan Rayats Act was passed, which was a very sweeping measure. Throughout other parts of British India like causes were producing everywhere like effects. There were difficulties among the Sonthals, the Bhils, in Sind, in the Punjab, in Jhansi, and in the Deccan. In all those cases, after a certain amount of enquiry, relief measures were passed, and certain classes of cases were taken out of the cognisance of the jurisdiction of the civil courts. In 1877 there was a great famine known as the Madras famine, and a Commission was appointed from England in 1880, headed by Sir James Caird. That Commission made its report, and among other things the Commission stated that they learned from the evidence collected from every part of India that fully one-third of the landowning classes of India were irretrievably involved in debt, that another one-third were seriously indebted, but were not without the possibility of recovering themselves. They further stated that a man's indebtedness depended upon his credit, or, as they put it, upon his eligibility as a customer of the money-lender. He thought he could prove to them with respect to this matter of credit, were there time, that if the Government of India surrendered all the land revenue of India—something like 30 millions sterling—within a short space of time the whole of that renounced money would pass into the hands of the money lenders. Until the Famine Commission reported in 1880 the consolatory doctrine usually accepted was that as India was progressing in material prosperity, as the condition of the people was very much better than it was at any time anterior to British rule, therefore we had done all that was necessary. After that famine it was recognised that our system might be suitable for moneyed men and for educated people, but that 150 or 200 millions of people could not be thrown into indebtedness and be subject to expropriation simply because that system was in advance of their needs and habits and comprehension. A new plea was discovered, which was that fundamental changes in a working system were impracticable without proof of necessity, and further, that no changes could be made until there were reasonable grounds for assuming that the change recommended would succeed in its object. He now came to the case of the Punjab. He was authorised to carry out an enquiry, upon the lines he had long before advocated, and it was held in 1895-6. It began and was finished in six months. The first point was this: that if under our system fully half the agriculturists of India were deeply or seriously involved in debt, if many millions of the peasant and yeomen proprietors of India had been expropriated by professional money lenders, if, in addition, the ancient village communities of the Punjab and other parts of India had been disintegrated or destroyed, these facts showed that there was some economic unsoundness in the condition of India, and that, therefore, a remedy should be found for that unsoundness. In all the cases he had mentioned there was some sort of enquiry, either superficial or very exhaustive, and in all these cases agricultural measures of the most drastic kind resulted. Further, it was a fact that in no cases in which an agricultural measure had been passed in India had action been taken by the timely and spontaneous initiative of the local government. In Lord Curzon they had a determined land reformer: they had also at the present time the fact that famines were increasing in number and in intensity. Upon these two accounts only he would be inclined to think it probable that a memorial sent by a strong body of expert Englishmen would receive favourable attention in India, and he was quite convinced that until local enquiries took place, if the local authorities were not agreed as to the condition of the people, and as to what the remedies should be, there would be no administrative reform introduced. He now moved the resolution standing in his name. (Hear, hear.)

Sir William Wedderburn said he cordially seconded this resolution, being convinced that the line proposed by his friend, Mr. Thorburn, was the only safe one. The village community was the unit and microcosm of all India, and it was only by a detailed village enquiry that they could learn the real facts regarding the Indian cultivator. (Hear, hear.) He would like to draw attention to two special characteristics of the Indian villages—those ancient self-contained little republics. The first was their strength as regards essentials, which, in defiance of time and space, had enabled them to exist to-day over the vast continent of India much as they existed before the time of Alexander the Great. Their second characteristic was plasticity as regards form, which had produced a great variety of types to meet the varied circumstances of different provinces. He would illustrate his meaning from the Presidency of Bombay, where neighbouring districts often differed much. The conditions of existence were very different for the cultivators on the bare plateau of the Deccan, in the rich valleys of Gujerat, on the rocky terraces of Ratnagiri, in the Forests of Canara, and the alluvial plains of Sind. The effect of these differing surroundings had been to build up different village types, and they must be careful that general measures, beneficial in themselves, did not destroy the delicate fabrics of local rural life. They ought, therefore, to work rather from the particular to the general than from the general to the particular. (Hear, hear.) Hence he entirely approved the method of the resolution. Some friends would have liked an enquiry independent of Government, but to this there were many objections, and there could not have been a better enquiry than that on the Deccan Riots, which was conducted under the orders of Government. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A general discussion followed with regard to the constitution of the Union. A desire was expressed that Lord Ripon, who had signified his willingness to join the Committee, would accept the presidency of the General Council, and Mr. Courtney the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee. The names of Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Thorburn, and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree were proposed as Joint Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. T. A. Denny proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and said he also had to thank Sir William Wedderburn for inviting him to attend the meeting. He was glad that somebody had taken the matter up with a bold hand—(hear, hear)—because the subject was a tremendous one. Many of them had been looking on with a sort of anguish for years, and it was quite a relief to know that something definite was now likely to be done. He wished the movement every possible success, and he believed it would have success because it was a good and righteous movement in sight of God and man. (Hear, hear.)

Sir George Birdwood said he had the greatest pleasure in seconding the resolution, and he urged that they should be very careful not to give political colour to the movement. Many of them were political suspects, but with Dr. Leonard Courtney as Chairman there need be no suspicion in that direction. (Laughter.)

The vote of thanks was accorded unanimously.

The Chairman in acknowledging the compliment, said there might be various reasons for selecting him as their Chairman, but the reason that he was free from political bias was most imaginary. He was afraid that he would not be of very great service to them, but if he could do anything to forward this Union he should be always pleased to give his services. (Applause.)

The Conference then terminated. It was agreed that a meeting of the Provisional Committee should be held on the following Friday (June 14), and that communications regarding the Union might for the present be made to Sir William Wedderburn, Palace Chambers, Westminster.

THE FAMINE AND THE FAMINE UNION.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The "Morning Leader" wrote (June 8):—The meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel yesterday did good work in forming an Indian Famine Union, with Mr. Leonard Courtney as chairman, to investigate the economic causes of famine in India and possible means of prevention. It will not do to say that the cause of Indian famines is the failure of rain. Absence of rain causes drought but drought does not involve famine where men are not too poor to buy food. And has not Lord George Hamilton asserted in the House of Commons that "there is always a sufficiency of food in the great continent of India even in years of drought"? The first work of the Indian Famine Union, we gather, will be to invite Lord George Hamilton "to cause a detailed enquiry to be carried out in selected typical villages in each of the Provinces affected by the famine with a view to ascertain the actual condition of the cultivator." The proposal is familiar to our readers. The India Office, if it is prudent, will welcome it.

The "St. James's Gazette" wrote (June 8):—One great woe of the land our utmost efforts have served but to palliate, not to cure. Indeed it is probable that the famines which visit India become more frequent and more severe as peace and improved sanitation obliterate the marks of the "red pencil" with which Nature was wont to audit her accounts. No doubt, in course of time, the development of railways and irrigation works, and the beneficent effect of afforestation on the rainfall will bring about an increase in the means of subsistence commensurate with the increase in the population, and meanwhile the magnificent famine organisation of the Indian Government, and the ever-ready generosity of the public at home do much to mitigate the suffering caused by scarcity, but there is ample scope for the labours of such a body as the Indian Famine Union in undertaking a detailed investigation fo the causes of famine, and of possible means of prevention. The experience of men like Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Auckland Colvin, Mr. Leonard Courtney, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree is a guarantee that the work attempted will be carried out on sane lines.

THE REPORT OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

The London correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" wrote (June 10):—I now learn that the report of the Indian Famine Commission was signed by Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues at Naini Tal early in May. The delay in publication is likely to be the subject of a question in the House of Commons. In view of the criticisms passed by the President of the

Commission, it is interesting to note that the Bombay Legislative Council was hurriedly summoned at the end of May to meet at Mahableshwar. The summons excited remark as the Council had not previously met there, and in the following week a meeting would in the ordinary way have been held at Poona. Moreover, as the urgent business which was announced was a bill to amend the Bombay land revenue code, the matter has been connected in India with the refusal to publish the report of the Famine Commission. It is clear in any case that the temporary suppression of the report is doing more harm than good.

The "Morning Leader" said (June 11):—What has happened to the report of the Indian Famine Commission? The Commission, it will be remembered, was appointed last January with Sir Antony MacDonnell as president. It was not, to be sure, a very important Commission, because it was not allowed to enquire how famine may be prevented but only how the effects of famine may be mitigated. It is as if, after an epidemic of fever, one should ask the doctors to prescribe palliatives but to give no advice whatever as to the best way of avoiding another epidemic. Still, the Commission, hampered though it was, took some rather important evidence and we know from such telegrams as are permitted to leave India that Sir Antony MacDonnell had some plain words to say about the relief system, or want of system, in Guzerat. It is clear from the Bombay newspapers that the report was signed a month ago. Why is it suppressed?

MR. VAUGHAN NASH ON THE FAMINE.

Speaking at the annual Conference of the Women's National Liberal Association in London on Tuesday (June 11), Mr. Vaughan Nash urged that the population of India was not progressing under English rule. Its indebtedness was increasing, its savings were dwindling, and its poverty was constantly deepening. How far was England responsible for this state of things? It was a painful task to destroy illusions as to the benefits of English rule, but he thought there could be no doubt whatever that our revenue exactions in India were excessive, that the Indian military establishment was excessive, and that we were putting upon the backs of a famine-stricken peasantry a load greater than they could bear. What was needed was a great reduction in the military burden, while at the same time in a country liable to constantly recurring famine a fixed system of revenue collection was most oppressive. It was that system that was crushing the people and driving them into the hands of the money-lenders. Another thing he urged was that the Government should construct more canals and build fewer railways.

MR. JOHN MORLEY AND THE EMPIRE.

"THE STUPENDOUS FABRIC OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA."

UNSELFISH AND DISINTERESTED AIMS.

Mr. John Morley in the course of an address to his constituents at Bervie, in the Montrose Burghs, on June 6, said:—I am only certain of one thing, and that is that amid all these clouds that now overhang the horizon of British politics the politician who despairs or loses his spirits or loses heart is a politician who puts himself out of court. They call me a pessimist. I think that in one of these burghs I once ventured to define a pessimist as a man who declines to say it is a gloriously fine day when it is raining cats and dogs; and if I have not faith and hope and (may I go on and say?) charity—if I had not faith and hope and charity I should not be wearing myself out in making speeches either here or anywhere else, but I should leave the fallen world to its fate (Cheers.) I can never lose my confidence—although the confidence of a humble individual like myself is of little consequence—I can never lose my confidence in the destinies of this kingdom. But the times are a little difficult. There is an old Greek joke of a sober man who found himself in the company of ten men who were not sober, and the ten men unanimously agreed that the one man was drunk. (Laughter.) And when I read the articles about my couple of speeches in this constituency I rub my eyes and I feel as bewildered as this one unfortunate man among the ten roysterers and revellers. (Laughter.) They write and talk as if people of my way of talking were bent upon painting the world drab; as if we were callous and cold-hearted to all the great ideals of British power, British strength, and British glory. A more ridiculous caricature no mortal hand could paint—a caricature of men in whom the sense of British kinship is at least as lively as those whom, I think, Professor Seeley calls the bombastic school, who froth and fume about loyalty and patriotism and try to dazzle us with glittering platitudes about empire. One would think that they really doubted whether loyalty and patriotism and greatness in the King's realm existed that they might be constantly talking of it. I do not talk of it, because I have other things to talk about. I take it for granted—and I hope you take it for granted—that I am just as proud of being a citizen of this enormous realm as any of those gentlemen. (Cheers.) I have said—I never will cease saying as long as it may, unfortunately, be required—I have said before we are all of one mind in seeking a strong and constant play between the Britons in the island home and Britons all over the globe who have carried loyalty to our institutions, our national freedom, and our strenuous industry to their homes over the sea. How could we who seek democratic ends, we who call ourselves Radicals—how could we fail to sympathise with and to admire our fellow-countrymen over the seas who find order and prosperity and growth and progress compatible with these—no State Church, payment of members, no House of Lords? (Cheers.) How could we fail to sympathise with our fellow-countrymen across the seas who have solved these problems, for instance, which we have not yet quite solved? (Cheers.) The only difference between us is this, that those who are always taunting us with our want of Imperial instinct because we don't at once accept this or that nostrum of federal union, or I know not what; they don't distinguish, and I put my point of view to you in a homely expression. We believe that when you have two bodies moving along, wishing to move in harmony and in union, you ought not to have a rigid iron bar, you ought to have a rope, a good stout rope, which may be slack or taut as circumstances may demand. I wonder how long the heavenly bodies would go along, would move in their orbits in the harmony that we behold, if they were fastened to one another by bolts of adamant. So we and our colonies, those great commonwealths, shall get along best if the tie between us is not a fixed and a rigid tie, dependent upon an artificial centralisation, but is a silken tie of affection and of mutual loyalty, of mutual good sense, and of mutual desire to keep constant and steadfast company with one another. (Cheers.) This is clear, that the events of the last year and a half in which the colonists, our colonial fellow-countrymen, with great manliness and daring co-operated in our military enterprises—one thing is becoming every day clearer to those who observe pretty closely how things are working out, and that is that a whole group of new problems are arising which will require the greatest and most careful consideration on the part of statesmen both on the other side of these great waters and on our own side. I have no stint—how can any rational man have a stint to his admiration for the splendid, I would almost say stupendous, fabric of government that Great Britain upholds, for instance, in India? Who can fail to admire the zeal, the energy, the intelligence, the skill, the persistence with which generation after generation of Englishmen and Scotsmen have built up and maintained that fabric? And I am glad to observe—may I say in passing?—that the present Governor General of India, Lord Curzon, a man of great zeal and indefatigable industry—that he, so far as I can observe, is showing no sign of joining that forward and aggressive school, perhaps I ought to say that forward and expansive school, which has wrought so considerable mischief in India before now. Then turn to another part of the world—turn to Egypt. We may wish, and some do wish, that we had never committed ourselves to the occupation of Egypt twenty years ago. We may wish that Lord Salisbury's attempt in 1887 to get us out of Egypt had not been baulked by the mistake of another Power. We may wish that Lord Salisbury's design of 1887 had succeeded, but that does not prevent us from doing full justice to one of the greatest feats of British administration that has ever been performed during the twenty years of Lord Cromer's administration in Egypt. I for one have never said that we can escape frontier troubles either in India or anywhere else. I use a figure of Lord Salisbury's—where you have savage races or barbarous races over your frontier, it is the surge of civilisation, he said, meeting the surge of barbarism. But I make this remark, that the very fact, the very circumstance of these inevitable frontier troubles is the very reason why we should sedulously be on our guard against incurring any responsibility or provoking any trouble on our borders, when by patient and prudent management we might well avoid them. After all, it is not the magnitude of your dominion that constitutes British greatness. It is the sound and the true-hearted character of the people of this kingdom. What is miscalled Imperialism, what is misnamed Imperialism, leaves out of sight altogether our moral power in Europe, and it claims—it has such language as predominance, it has such claims as ascendency. That is not the way in which the name of Britain became great and her power strong. That precedence in Europe which Britain has so long enjoyed, and has enjoyed to the advantage and the good of the whole combined world, did not rest upon land robbers. (Cheers.) It has rested upon the conviction in the mind of Europe and of the world that on the whole our aims when we intervened were unselfish and were disinterested, and were animated by those principles of justice and freedom which make all the difference between a progressive civilisation and a civilisation which is not progressive but retrograde. (Cheers.)

Imperial Parliament.

Monday, May 20.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

INDIAN LIQUOR AND OPIUM SHOPS.

Lord Kinnaird asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if the attention of the Secretary of State had been called to the repeated complaints of tea planters in Assam, Darjeeling, and other parts of Northern India with regard to the location of liquor shops and opium shops in the coolie villages attached to the plantations; if he had observed the statement of the Excise Commissioner of Assam in his report for the year 1899-1900 to the effect that the consumption of country spirit naturally tended to increase with the foreign population of tea garden and other coolies, which induced keen competition for shops on the part of rival liquor sellers; if he was aware that the planters themselves were now entering into competition with the liquor sellers, and that in Sylhet six licences had been taken up by tea planters last year; and, if so, would he put a stop to a practice which could only result in increased consumption of spirits, in contradiction to the policy of the Government of India as declared in their despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 29, 4th February, 1890. The question was, he said, one of considerable importance. Coolies were brought long distances at great expense to the planters, and often from parts of the country where they had not been accustomed to take strong drink, and it had been found in many cases that their health largely suffered owing to the facilities of obtaining liquor. He did not approach the question so much from the Temperance standpoint as from the point of the injustice of the Government, who were all-powerful as to the opening or closing of grog shops, increasing the number of centres of danger to the coolies simply for the purpose of raising additional revenue.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Hardwicke): My lords, I will say just one or two words as to the coolies who come to these tea plantations to work. The noble lord has implied that they come from parts where drink is unknown to them. I think the noble lord is incorrect in stating that. They are aboriginal tribes coming from the north-eastern frontier, and, I believe, are addicted to a certain kind of drink which they manufacture themselves out of a herb. I believe that long before we went to India they were drinking this production to a considerable extent. In proof of this I may mention that in Assam and Darjeeling, the places to which this question refers, the local inhabitants drink hardly at all. In fact, nearly the whole of the excise revenue is derived from the drinking habits of coolies. The noble lord seems to be under the impression that the policy of selling shops to the tea planters or their managers is contrary to the policy that has been adopted under the despatch of the Government of India of 4th February, 1890. The system that exists at present is to fix in each locality the number of shops that are necessary to supply a certain quantity of spirits to the coolies. Whether the shops are sold to the planters or in the open market does not increase the number of them. The number is at a fixed limit, but the excise commissioners have sold in Assam during the past year eleven shops to the tea planters, who bought them with only one object, namely, to be able to control the Natives whom they employ, and prevent them from indulging excessively in drink. That, so far from being in contradiction to the policy of the Government of India, is directly in accordance with their policy. The noble lord asks whether the Secretary of State has observed the statement of the Excise Commissioner of Assam in his report for the year 1899-1900, to the effect that the consumption of country spirit naturally tends to increase with the foreign population of tea garden and other coolies. I think that is a self-evident proposition. Of course, as more coolie emigrants arrive in any district more liquor will be consumed. At the same time, it does not follow that the individual coolie has greater opportunities for drinking. That this increase induces keen competition for shops on the part of rival liquor sellers is, I think, also evident. The more coolies there are employed, the more liquor is sold, and consequently the more valuable each of these shops becomes. But, as I have said, the number of shops does not increase. In all, eleven licences have been taken up by planters. With regard to the latter part of the question, I think it is unnecessary again to state that it is not the opinion of the Government of India, or of my noble friend the Secretary of State, that the policy adopted will result in an increased consumption of spirits; and in the opinion of the Secretary of State the policy that is now enforced is in every way consistent with the policy laid down in the despatch referred to.

Friday, June 7.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

Officers of the Indian Staff Corps,—Petitions for redress of grievances;—From M. E. O'Donoghue;—H. V. Firth;—F. F. Hunter;—St. George L. Steele;—F. J. Moberley;—J. Talbot;—and, L. D. Watling; to lie upon the Table.

REVENUE OF STATE FORESTS.

Mr. Herbert Lewis asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state what was the average annual net revenue of the State Forests in India for the years 1864-7, 1872-7, 1882-7, and 1892-7, respectively: And, what was the net revenue for the last financial year.

Lord G. Hamilton: The average annual net revenue of the Forest Department in India has been as follows, for the periods mentioned, in pounds sterling, the rupees being converted at 1s. 4d. each:—1864-7, £93,672; 1872-7, £135,161; 1882-7, £249,253; 1892-7, £500,010; 1900-1 (revised estimate), £536,530.

ASIATICS IN QUEENSLAND.

Mr. Patrick O'Brien asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he could state why the Royal Sanction had been refused to an Act passed by the Queensland Legislature prohibiting the employment of Asiatics and other coloured labourers in sugar mills receiving financial help from the Government.

Mr. Chamberlain: His Majesty's Government have represented to the Queensland Government that the Bill in question is open to objection on grounds both of principle and of policy; first, because it embodies a disqualification based solely on place of origin, and would therefore exclude British subjects in India and elsewhere, not on account of any moral, educational, or physical deficiency, but solely on difference of race and colour; secondly, that it is offensive to Japan, a friendly Power, inasmuch as it not only excludes natives of that country from employment, but also places them in the same category as Asiatics generally, without any consideration being paid to their state of civilisation.

Tuesday, June 11.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE REPORT OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

Mr. Schwann asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Report of the Indian Famine Commission was signed at Naini Tal on 8th May; and, if so, whether he would undertake to present it to Parliament without delay.

Lord G. Hamilton said there would be no delay in publishing the report, but he had not yet received it nor was he aware that it was complete.

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

Notice has been given of the following Question:—

Mr. Herbert Roberts,—To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will lay Papers upon the Table of the House relating to the formation, and future administration, and financial arrangements of the new Indian Frontier Province: Whether he can arrange for these Papers to include a map showing the exact boundaries of the Province: And, whether the Papers can be laid upon the Table before the discussion on the Indian Budget takes place this present Session.—(Thursday, June 13.)

"Some Urgently Needed Reforms."—Under this heading we noticed in our issue of May 31 an important pamphlet, the author of which, we now learn, intended to remain anonymous, as he thinks it "inadvisable for either past or present servants of the Indian Government to identify themselves with views which are liable to be misunderstood." The pamphlet was sent to us for review, and we were not in the least aware that anonymity was desired. Let us add that we shall be happy to receive further communications from experts upon the subject of the Indian police, which may be published anonymously if that be preferred.

Indians in Natal.—Mr. Joseph Royeppen writes that our report, which was necessarily brief and condensed, of his speech on the position of British Indians in South Africa at the recent Indian Conference in London conveys in some respects an inaccurate impression of his meaning. Mr. Royeppen, who speaks of the position in Natal with the authority of personal experience, points out that important qualifying clauses should here and there have been inserted. In these circumstances any censure for inaccuracy necessarily falls not upon the speaker but upon the report.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
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The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.
Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.
Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

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The Bogey of a Russian Invasion. A Lesson from the Tirah Campaign, by Col. H. B. HANNA.

The High Courts and the Collector-Magistrates in India, by J. DACOSTA.

The Government of India and its Reform through Parliamentary Institutions, by J. DACOSTA.

Note on Sir J. Westland's Budget, 1894-5.

Note on the Explanatory Memorandum of the Secretary of State for India, 1894-5.

Note on Sir James Westland's Budget, 1895-6.

Note on Sir H. Waterfield's Tables, 1884-5 to 1894-5.

The Poor Man's Lamb: Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes.

REPRINTS FROM "INDIA."

The Judiciary and the Executive in India. Interview with Mr. Manomohan Ghose.
The Bombay Government and Higher Education, by the Hon. C. H. Setalved.
A National Famine Grant, Letter from the London Indian Society to Lord Salisbury, 1900.
India and the General Election (1900).
"Melancholy Meanness."
The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.
No National Contribution?
The "Slimness" of the India Office.
"Mainly a Question of Money."

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